

Wm. Prynne
THE
Protestants Remonstrance

AGAINST

P O P E

AND

PRESBYTER:

In an Impartial Essay upon the

T I M E S,

Or PLEA for

MODERATION.

By PHILANGLUS.

William Prynne

Benam Publicum simulantes, pro sua Potentia certant. Salut. Catil. Conjurat.

LONDON:

Printed by N. T. for Walter Davis living in Amen-Corner, at the
lower end of Pater-Noster-Row. 1684. 1681

Handwritten text: *Handwritten text, possibly a signature or name, in a cursive script.*

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MEMORANDUM

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THE Protestants Remonstrance

AGAINST

Pope and Presbyter,

Gentlemen,

AS the Tranquillity and Welfare of Old England is a thing of universal Concern to all *True Protestants*, so should our endeavour to preserve it, be the same: If the Danger be general and publick, so let the Care also; since the ignorant Passenger may as well expect to survive the sinking Ship and drowned Pilot, as any man of an Estate (how little soever it be) to prosper under the Ruines of a *Civil War*, and downfal of Monarchy; Rebellion and Gaming being only fit for men that have nothing to lose; 'Tis a meer *Lottery of State*, wherein are an hundred *Blanks* to one *Prize*. For the miseries of a *Civil War*, we need not any Information from the Histories of ancient *Rome* under *Tiberius*, *Gracchus*, *Marinus*, and *Sylla*; *Pompey* and *Cesar*, the *Triumvirate*, &c. Nor from the Dissentions in *Florence*, begun by the *Guelf* and *Ghibeline* Factions; Nor from the Discords of *France*, under the Tumultuous Reigns of *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* No, we have too fresh, and too sad an Example of our own late *Intestine Broils*, which rendred this unhappy Nation little better then a Den of Thieves and Murderers; for almost the space of 20 years; when under the disguise of Religion, they committed the greatest Impiety; and under the pretence of defending their Countries Liberty, enslaved it: only with this difference, that instead of one good King, they set over us many Tyrants. What Prince, nay what Tyrant ever perpetrated the thousandth part of those outrages upon a People, which they did? till at length, out of an unsatiable Ravenous humour, like Beasts of Prey, they fell to seclude and devour one another. What Landlord was then Master of his own House? What Tenant secure of the Stock upon his Ground? What

House-keeper could call his Furniture his own, without being every hour in danger of having his very Bed taken from under him? What Gentleman secure of his Horses, without having them by violence forced out of his Stable, nay even out of his very Coach? Who could Ride in safety upon the Road without eminent danger of his Person? who could follow his Lawful vocation, or what Trades-man his Trade, without the hazzard of an assault? What Gentleman was Master of his own Child or Servant? or what Shop-keeper of his Prentice? when the Parliaments Army was ready to receive, and reward them for their Disloyalty? Nay what security had any man of his own Life, Family and Estate without being in danger of Hanging, Plundering, Sequestering and the like? Now who were the Authors of these mischiefs, I shall not presume to determine, only this I am sure of, that the Fanaticks were no less guilty then the Papists: nor can any moderate Person think of the 30th of *January*, with less Horrour then the 5th of *November*, They are both equally enemies to the Government; and so alike declared by act of Parliament; they had both the same need of his Majesty's most gracious *Act of Oblivion*; Neither were the Acts of one, less cruel then the other, as many who writ of, or lived in those times inform us. I need not here acquaint you with the Papists murder of *Henry the III. and Henry the IV. of France*, their *St. Bartholomew's Massacre*, their *Cicilian Vesper's*, their *Irish Massacre*, and Rebellion, their several Plots against *Queen Elizabeth* and *King James*; The *Gunpowder-Treason*, and how great, a share they had in our late Civil Wars, as well as of their present inhumanity against the distressed *French Hugonists*; No, there are so many Tracts written of this Subject, and people are already so well acquainted with their barbarous, and cruel Principles, that it would be best time lost here to repeat them; Wherefore I shall wholly apply this discourse to their Brethren in iniquity, the Fanaticks, Who are no less Culpable, though less discovered to the World; wherefore to take off their Holy Mask, give me leave out of a small Treatise (called *Mercurius Rusticus*, or the *Countrie's Complaint*) to Epitomize to you some few Barbarous proceedings of these Sectaries, which were Executed upon the most Loyal Protestants by special order of Parliament. As for example: How Barbarously were *Sir John Lucas* and *Mr. Newcomen*, a Minister used by the Brownists,

nists, and Anabaptists of Colchester, Sir John's House Plundered, his Mother, Lady, and Sister committed to the Common Goal?

The inhumane usage of Sir William Bateley in Kent, his House Plundered, and Servants put to exquisite torture, by the Parliament Dragoons?

The same Party went on, and Plundered Sir Hen. Audley's House in Essex as also Mr. Erasmus Lan'd, a poor Minister, of all his Money, Cattel; his own, and his Wives wearing Apparel: also Mr. Hongfield a Batchellor in Divinity near 70 years old, of all his Furniture, Cloaths, Bonds, Bills, and Evidences, and Imprisoned his Person; Also Mr. Stephens, Parson of Southamfield in Essex, of all his Plate and Goods, beating out the brains of a Woman that hid them for him; Also Imprisoned Mr. Edward Symmons, Parson of Rayn in Essex, and bestowed his Living upon one Lemuel Take, by education a Weaver; which the Parliament did, for that Mr. Symmons had Preached a Sermon against Rebellion; Lastly the said Dragoons Plundered the Countess of Rivers House at Oysteb, to the value in Goods, and Money, of an hundred thousand pounds, as also threatened to take away her Life, had they found her.

How inhumanely did the Brownist and Anabaptist of Chelmsford use Mr. Michelson, the Parson of that Town, and a man of great worth and Learning; how many Attempts did they make upon his Life? how did they Plunder him of all he had, and at last push him to flight, leaving behind him, his Wife and eight small Children to perish? The same Godly Reformers also Plundered Mr. Cornelius, Parson of Peldon, in the same County of Essex, taking from him 400 l in Money, besides all his Goods and Child-bed-linnen of his Wives, who look'd every hour, yet had not wherewith to Cloath her Nakedness left her; and when these Criminals were taken, and indicted for the Theft, an Ignoramus Jury (though they confessed the fact) acquitted them; for that the Criminals were of the Brotherhood, and Goods stolen, belonged to a Delinquent, which was the only reason they gave to the Judge, Who bound them over to answer their Perjured Verdict at the next Assizes: Wonder not therefore at Colledges Ignoramus Jury of the Brotherhoods: On August Thursday 18th. 1642, The Lord B — then Plunder'd Sir Richard Minshells House at Bouiton in Buckinghamshire, destroyed

destroying a prodigious quantity of Rich Furniture, killing and selling all the Cattel on his ground, burning his Corn and Hay-Ricks, tearing and consuming all his Cloaks, Bonds, and Evidences, Clapping a strong Guard on his Lady, and denying her a Bed to lie on; all which they did, for that her Husband was then waiting on the King; They cut down his Woods, destroyed his Ponds, and left no piece of Revenge unfinished.

Middlesex.

At *Kings Harbour* near *Hounslow-heath*, a Party of the Lord *Wh's* Souldiers set fire on an Inne; for that the people of the House began the *Kings Health*, telling the Hostess, that they would teach her the *Irish* way to fire Houses.

Essex.

At *Pelmarsh* in *Essex*, Mr. *Wilborow* the Parson, was assaulted in his Pulpit, having all his Cloaths torn off him, and very hardly escaped with life, his Bible and *Common-Prayer-book* torn in an hundred pieces, which they stuck on their Pike-heads.

Reading.

The Earl of *E*— left behind him at *Reading* a Committee of City Captains, and Trades-men, who Amerced and Fined men at their pleasures. In *Marlow*, they assailed one Mr. *Druce* at 1000 *l.* and imprisoned him till he paid 300 *l.* of it; they also Fined Mr. *Harepool* 200 *l.* Mr. *Chace* (a man Plundered before) 40 *l.* *Elliant* a Butcher, they Fined 100 *l.* and imprisoned him also; One *Cock* a Baker 20 *l.* Mr. *Farnace*, The Vicar 10 *l.* *John Langley* 100 *l.* *Thomas Langley* 20 *l.* *William Langley* 5 *l.* and *Willmot* his Servant 5 *l.* *John More* 80 *l.* *Hopkins* a Shoemaker, 5 *l.* *Canne* an Inn-keeper, 7 *l.* and many more they Fined in this illegal manner.

Bedford.

Mr. *Giles Thorn* Minister of *St. Cuberts* in *Bedford*, upon a Sunday after having Preached 3 Sermons; was Barbarously assaulted by the Parliament Troops, then carried up to *London*, and there kept close Prisoner without any other cause being ever alledged against him, save only that he was too well beloved of his Parishioners; although the true reason was, a private pique of *Sir S. Luke* against him, which *Sir Samuel* made use of his Interest amongst the Parliament to be revenged this way.

Warder Castle.

Warder Castle being by the Lady *Arundel* (in the absence of my Lord her Husband) Surrendered upon Articles to *Sir Edw. H.* and his Parliament Troops, How did they break all their Articles as soon as they were entered, Plundering all those Goods, Defacing that whole Castle, Cutting down all those Timber-Trees, destroying all those Cattel, Deer-Parks and Fish-Ponds, which

which by their Articles they were bound to spare, neither did this atone their Malice, but they must also carry their Ladies and their young Children Prisoners to *Dorchester*, which place was then much infected with the *Small-Pox*, and *Plague*; Nay (and what was more Cruel) did afterwards snatch the young Infants out of their Mothers Arms, and carry them alone Captive to *Bath*, which was full of the same Infection.

On the 21th of *May*; 1643. One Mr. *John Bykar* (Son to the Vicar of *Dunchurch*) was run through the Body, and kill'd in *Coventry*; by the Rebels without any offence, but his being a Parsons Son.

What Havock did the Parliamentarians at *Wellington* in *Northamptonshire*, without any resistance, they murdered Mr. *Flin* Curate of *Harraden*, Plundered *Wellington*, and carried away Prisoners to *Northampton*, Mr. *Grey*, Mr. *Neal*, and above forty more, together with the Vicar of the Town, one Mr. *Jones* a Grave Learned man, and very Ancient, whom for scorn they made ride along with them upon a Bear, which they had taken from a Barber of *Wellington*, whom they had murdered; at length being Imprisoned at *Northampton*, they starved him to death, without ever suffering his Wife or his Friends to come at him. Wonder not therefore if the Clergy so much inveigh against Presbytery!

Northamptonshire
Northampton
Northamptonshire

On the 28th of *January* 1642, the Castle of *Sudley* was surrendered to the Rebels upon Articles, which were no sooner made, but broken; for they not only Plundered the Castle and Seat of the Lord *Shandois & Winchcomb*, a Neighbouring Village, but also God's Service (as they call it) abused his Church, a stately Fabrick within the Castle digging up the Graves, breaking down the Monuments of the *Shandoises*; making the lower part of it a Stable, the Chancel a Slaughter-house, the Communion Table a Chopping-block for meat, & the Vault where the Family of the *Shandoises* lay, they filled with the Guts, and Garbage of Beasts; so piously did these Sectaries fight the Lord's Battle. The same Barbarity was likewise used upon that Beautiful piece of Antiquity *St. Maries Church* in *Warwick*, wherein were destroyed the Famous and Ancient Monuments of the Earls of *Beauchamp*, by the Lord *B—*, and Colk *Parsons* Party.

Sudley
Castle

How barbarously did the Rebels of *Exeter* use *Dorset Cox*, who came with a Trumpeter, and a Party to them, from Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and his Majesties Forces, Wounding, Abusing, and

Exeter

and Imprisoning him, contrary to the Law of Arms; Nay, they both Vomited, and Purged him for many days together, thinking to make him voy'd those *Papers of Intelligence*, which they distrusted he had Swallowed, because they once saw him put his hand to his Mouth, only to pick his Teeth.

Rutlandsh. How inhumanely did the Lord G. of Gs. Party deal with Mr. *Nowel* of *Rutlandshire*, Firing his Tennants Houses, in one of which was a poor Woman in Labour; also taking Prisoner Mr. *Nowel* himself; Plundering his House; defacing the Church, and in it his Wives Monument; all which they did contrary to the Articles, upon the which he had Surrendered.

Kent. With what Brutality did the Rebels under *Coll. S — s* in *Kent* enter *St. Bargarves*, the Dean of *Canterbury's* House, Plundering all they met with, Imprisoning the Son in his Fathers absence; and horridly abusing the Deans Wife, and Mother, an old Gentlewoman above eighty years of Age; After which the Dean himself returning, they soon committed him to the *Fleet* at *London*, where I think he dyed with grief in Prison.

Berks. *Brown*, *Waller*, and others in their March from *Aylsbury*, to *Windsor*, and thence by *Newbury* to *Winchester*, Plundered every Minister within five Miles of the Road, without distinction, whether their Friends or Foes.

Windsor. How many poor Wretches were starved to death under the Imprisonment of Captain *Ven* a Citizen, and made Governour of *Windsor Castle*.

Lincolns. Mr. *Chaldwell* of *Thorngonby* in the County of *Lincoln* Esq; and a Justice of Peace, was for his Loyalty, both himself and his Wife, two Ancient people put in the Dungeon of *Lincoln* Gaol, where receiving the ill news; for the Rebels had Plundered his House, destroying all his Estate, and murdered one of his most faithful Servants, he ended his days with grief.

Mr. *Wright* a Minister of *Wemslow* in *Cheshire*, and a pious, Learned man 80 years old, was Plundered of his All, by the Parliament Troops having two of his Maid-Servants murdered, and others in his House wounded; nor had escaped with his own life, had not his Neighbours received his venerable old age.

Mr. *Anthony Tringham* Minister of *Tringham* in *Bucks*, being first robbed of his All, was afterwards miserably abused and wounded, having his Arm cut off, and then carried away to *Aylsbury* Gaol.

Mr

Mr. *Barilets* House at *Castle-morton* in *Worcestershire* was five times Plundered by these Rebels; Inſomuch as they boasted they had not left him worth a Groat, his Wife and Children abused, and himself Imprisoned.

How Barbarouſly were Mr: *Robert Yeomans*, and Mr. *George Boucher*, Gentlemen of *Bristol* murdered? as also Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle* Shot to death in cold blood at *Colchester* by the Parliaments Court of Injustice?

The Cathedral Churches of *Canterbury*, *Worcester*, and most of the other Cathedrals in *England*, were miserably defaced and demolished by these pious Rebels.

In October 1642. When the Earl of *Staff.* was in *Hereford*. *Herefordsh.* *shire*; Captain *Kirl's* Troops (in the absence of Parson *Swift* of *Goodwich* in the same County,) Plundered his House by the order of the said Earl and Captain; they took away all his Provision of Victuals, Corn and Household Stuff, which were not conveyed away before they emptied his Bed, and filled the Ticks with Mault; they Rob'd him of his Carr, and six Horses and make this part of their Theft the means to convey away the rest, Mrs. *Swift* much affrightened thereat, Taking up a young Child in her Arms, thought it best to secure her self by flight, which one of the Troopers perceiving, he commanded her to stay, (or holding a Pistol to her breast) threatned to shoot her dead in this Condition; and having her House thus Rised, next morning early she goes to *Hereford*, and Petitions the Earl to have compassion, if not on her self, yet on her Ten little Infants, and that he would be pleased to cause some of her Goods, and Horses to be restored; but the Earl would not vouchsafe so much as to read her Petition: hereupon the Ad-dresses to Captain *Kirl*, who grants her no Restitution, but only a protection for what was left, and that too cost her thirty Shillings; And now thinking her self secure, she returns home in hopes to enjoy quietly what was left; She had not been long at home but Captain *Kirl* sends her word, that if it pleased her she might buy 4 of her 6 Horses again, assuring her that she should never be Plundered more by their Forces, encouraged hereby, she bought 4 of her Horses for 8 pounds 10 Shillings, and with this security brought home the remainder of those few Goods she had hid at her Neighbours Houses: but soon after Captain *Kirl* sent to her for some Vessels of Cyder, which having tasted, and not liking, instead thereof, Demanded

ten Bushels of *Oats*, which not having of her own, she sent him 40 s. to buy *Oats*. Suddenly after, another Captain of the Earls sends to this Mrs. *Swift* for Victuals and Corn, who shewing him her Protection, he also shewed her his Warrant, and so Condemning her Protection, Seizeth upon what Provision and Syder was in the House: Hereupon Mrs. *Swift* Complains to Captain *Kirle*, who said, *He disapproved of what they did, but would not relieve her one jot; and withal sends to her for more Oats, which she not being able to send him, Captain Kirle's Lieutenant, two hours before, on the third of December, comes with a Party of Dragoons to Mr. Swifts House, and demanded entrance, but the doors being shut, they forced them open, and entred with Pistols cockt in their hands, and Swords drawn: Being thus entred, they took all Mr. Swifts and his Wives wearing Cloaths, his Books, and his Childrens Cloaths, they being in Bed, and poor Children hanging by their Cloaths, as unwilling to part with them, they swung about, until (their hold-fasts failing) they dashed them against the walls. They also took away all his Servants Cloaths, leaving none of them a Shirt to cover their Nakedness; They Robbed also one of her little Infants lying in a Cradle, not leaving it a rag to preserve it from the cold. They took away all the Linnen; Iron, Pewter, and Brass, and a fair Cupboard of Glass, which they could not carry away, they broke; The Horses lately redeem'd, they also laid hold on; and threatned to carry away to Prison Mrs. *Swift* and her three Maids; and to plunder all under their Pericouars, as they said. Whereupon she fled to the place where her Husband was Concealed; in whose absence they fell a packing up all their plunder: When amongst other things, there was a Batch of Bread in the Oven, this they Seized upon, the ten small Children on their knees, intreated but for one Loaf, which they Refused, not leaving one morsel to satisfy their Hunger: Nay finding a small Pewter-dish which the drier Nurse had hid for the use of the poor Infant in the Cradle, the Mother which Suckled it being fled: Though the Nurse begg'd for it on her knees, and the Child lay crying for hunger, yet did they throw it to the Dogs, and took away the Dish: Nay, they commanded upon pain of Death, that the Miller should Grind them no Corn, nor any of their Neighbours relieve them: And all the revenge was acted, only because at *Ross*, their Father preached a Sermon upon this Text, Give unto Caesar the things*

that are Caesar's, &c. *Nulla Salus Bello pacem se possunt omnes* :
Virgil. xi. lib. *Æneid*.

These are not the thousandth part of those *Barbarities*, and *Cruelties*, which in all Counties of *England* were acted by those *Bloody* and *Merciless Sectaries*, who pretended to fight the *Lords Battle*; and whose chief *Reformation* consisted in turning *Churches* into *Stables*, and *Barns* into *Churches*; In plucking down *Learned Ministers*, and setting up *Illiteral Coblers* and *Tinkers*, to *Preach Gods Holy Word* in their stead; How were the *Churches Violated*, and the *Universities turned Topsie-Turvy*? who (not being a *Sectary*) was not then esteemed a *Papist*? or (not being a *Rebel to the King*,) was not accounted a *Betrayer of his Countrey*?

Now these taits of *Calvenistical Cruelties* may be sufficient to deter any but *Mad-men*, or *Fools*, from splirting twice upon the same *Rock*, unless we desire to have the same *Murthers*, the same *Roberies*, the same *Sequestrations*, the same *Compounding* for our own *Estates* many times over, the same waiting at *Committees Doors*, the same *Free Quarter*, and the same *Parliament Tyrannie*, then which never any was greater: Every little member of which long *Parliament*, being a greater and more absolute *Tyrant*, then any *Bashaw* belonging to the *Turk*: only with this Difference, that such a member could Ruin his *Enemies*, but not assist his *Friend*. The *Taxes* more heavy, and *Burthensome*, then ever any before: Most of which *publique Moneys* were spent in *Private* uses, and divided amongst themselves: Whilst thousands of *Widows*, and *Orphans*, who were Ruined by their *Sequestrations*, and *Plunderings*, wanted Bread to put into their *Mouths*. Thus (besides other times) they at once voted this Division amongst themselves, of these several Sums out of the *Publick Stock*, (viz.)

To the Lord Say. —————	1000 l.
To the Earl of Northumberland. — — —	1000 l.
To Mr. Vassall —————	1000 l.
To Mr. Henry Martin. —————	1000 l.
To Sir Rowland Wainford. ————	5000 l.
To Mr. Bacon. —————	3000 l.
To Mr. Selden. —————	5000 l.
To Sir William Strode's Family ————	5000 l.
To Mr. Peter Hammond's Successors. ————	5000 l.

To Sir Miles Hubbard.	5000 l.
To Mr. Hampden's Children.	5000 l.
To Sir Benjamin Rudyard.	6000 l.
To Sir John Elliot's Children.	5000 l.
To Mr. Benjamin Valentine.	5000 l.
To Mr. Walter Long.	5000 l.
To Denzile Hollis Esquire.	5020 l.
In Toto.	99000 l.

SO that first this long *Parliament* mispent the *Nations Treasure*: When (besides the voluntary Contributions of Silver *Thimbles* from the *Seamstresses*, *Bodkins* from the *Chambermaids*, *Silver Spoons* from the *Cooks*, *Silver Bowls* from the *Vintners*, and *Rings* and *Ear-Rings* from the *Sister-hood*, for the Maintenance of this *Holy War*,) they made an *Ordinance* in *March* 1642. for the *Levying* of 33000 l. a Week, which comes to above, 2700000 l. a year, over and above all the *Kings Lands*, and *Woods*, with whatsoever was remaining unpaid of any *Subsidy* formerly granted him; Together with *Tunnage* and *Poundage* usually received by the *King*: And also the *Profit* of *Sequestration* of *Great Persons*, whom they pleased to vote *Delinquents*, and the *Profit* of *Bishops Lands*; which they all Peaceably enjoyed: Again the *Rump* of this same *Parliament* in 1652: to Maintain War with the *Dutch*, Levied a new Tax upon the People, of 120000 l. per *ensem*, to continue a year; Which shews that this *Democracical*, and *Parliamentary Government*, or rather this *Oligarchy*, and *Rump* of a *Parliament*, was no less Burthensom and Chargeable to the People, even then a *French Monarchy*: And after this, again was another Six Months Tax of an 100000 l. per *ensem*. But what was most unjust of this *Parliament*, and shews how Dangerous it has sometimes been for an *House of Commons* to have any great sum of Money ready raised and deposited in their own hands, was, their employing all that Money which had been Collected by Charity (for the relief of the distressed *Irish*;) towards the Maintenance of a War against the *King*: Whilst in the mean time, the *Poor Irish Protestants* were Perished by Sword, and *Famine* for want of this Relief.

Secondly this *Parliamentary Dominion*, was no less Bloudy, and Tyranical then the most absolute Monarchy of *France* or *Turkey*, witness their *High Courts of Justice*, which murdered the

the King, Duke Hamilton, Earl of Holland, Lord Capel, and other Loyalists; nay, their own Friends the two Sir John Hothams, whom upon a vain Suspicion they ungratefully Sentenced to death; but what was an Inhumanity equal to any thing in Popery, was, that the Godly *Sectaries* once put it to the Vote, whether they should Massacre all the Royallists or no, which was carried in the Negative, but by two Voices; And had it once pass'd, there are few but know, that Lambert and his Levelling Party had designed to destroy all the Nobility, and Gentry of England, cutting their Throats by the name of *Loyalists*, whether they were so, or no; As for the Nobility, I mean the House of Peers, that Parliament which put the King to Death, likewise presently Voted them useless, Whereby we may observe, how entirely the Nobility and Gentry depend upon the King's Prosperity; Who was no sooner Dethroned, but presently the Lords are turned out of the Government, and the Gentry designed to be Massacred. So that of all Tyrannies, God deliver us from a perpetual Parliament, and of all Governments, from that of Geneva Fattors which consists of many Links, being more troublesome then those of one. But to argue upon the square, pray let me ask any of these *Rumpers*, why the King might not then as well Levy Money without Lords and Commons, as the Commons without King and Lords? Why the King might not then interest himself in appointing what Members the People should chuse for Parliament, as well as Cromwells Major-General awed the Electors in the like case? And why the King might not then Govern by a Court Rump of a Parliament, as well as they by an Independent Rump? For my part, I think them alike grievances, and equally unlawful.

Lastly, Now, As for their Hierarchy, or Government Ecclesiastick, it was more Intollerable then their Civil Jurisdiction; Elders, Deacons, Synods, and Assemblies, being far more Oppressive, and Authoritative than Vicar, Arch-Deacon, Pastor, or Spiritual Courts.

Synods are Whelps o' th' Inquisition,
A Mungrel breed, o' th' like Pernicion.
Synods are Missical Bergardens,
Where Elders, Deputies, Church-Wardens,
And Sarnis themselves are brought to Stake,
For Gospel Light, and Conscience-sake.

And

And then for Headen Officers, well wot you
-all see, *In the end of Dogs, about their maws, van Hudib.*
-bonus villanusque vana colligunt cava aequo modo
Every little *Thames*, your *Elder*, usurping as much power over his
respective Family, and Authority over a man's Wife; and Filly
Foals, whether Children, or Servants, (especially if they be
bandson) as the Pope himself, nay and as formidable to the
Masterhis Parson: he must be mixt wiv'd with the best meat,
and drink, and the Female which he chooseth for his *Convent*: is
over the handsonness such Fellows, and Wasps, having always
the wit to elect the choicest Fruit: As well in *Presbytery*, as *Po-*
pery, the Priests of both kinds center in the Petticoat; so that
young *Elders*, and young *Fryars*, are frequent charges to the
Parish. They are the greatest of Hypocrites, when by their long
Prayers they conceal their *Whoredom, Drunkenness, Gluttony,*
and *Lying*: By their severity to others, they shadow their own
wickedness, and by their *Canting Religion*, disguise their intended
Rebellion; well knowing that flames (as in Hay, or Straw) may
be kindled in the more combustible People, by such Foxes, as
shall appear rather to carry Water, than Fire. The *Presbyterians*
and *Papists* began the War in Scotland, continued it in England,
and brought the old *Kings Head* to the Block; where the *Inde-*
pendents cutting it off, the others very cunningly wash'd their
hands of it. As for the Tyranny of their Discipline, I refer you
to *Gentoo*, or rather to the History of New England, and
Heylin of Presbytery.

Presbytery does but translate
The Papacy to a Free-State:
A Commonwealth of Popery,
Where every Village is a See,
As well as Rome; and must maintain
A Tyth-Pig-Metropolitan:
Where every Presbyter, and Deacon,
Commands the Keys for Cheese, and Bacon;
More haughty, and severe in's place,
Then Gregory, or Boniface.
Such Church must surely be a Monster
With many Heads: for if we confer
What in th' Apocalypse we find,
According to th' Apostles mind,

*That the Whores of Babylon, y^e sitting as mo^rts
 With many Heads did ride upon: lo^r and acquiesc^t
 Which Heads denote the sinful Tribe
 Of Deacon, Priest, Lay-Elder, Scribe, Hudib.*

Moreover, as the Government of the *Long Parliament*, was most Tyrannical and wicked, so also was the Usurpation and behaviour of *Cromwell*, if rightly examined; for as *Mr Cowley* well observes, "What can be more extraordinarily wicked, then for a private Subject to endeavour, not only to exalt himself above, but to trample upon all his equals and betters? to pretend freedom for all men, and under the help of that pretence, to make all men his Servants? to take Arms against scarce 200000 l. a year, and to raise for himself above two Millions? to quarrel for the loss of 3 or 4 Ears, and strike off 3 or 400 Heads? to fight against an imaginary suspicion of 2000 Guards to be fetcht for the King, I know not from whence, and to keep up for himself no less then 40000? to pretend the defence of *Parliament*; and violently to dissolve all, even of his own Calling, and almost Choosing? to undertake the Reformation of Religion, to rob it even to the very Skin, and then to expose it naked, to the Rage of all Sects and Heresies? to set up Councils of Rapine, and Courts of Murther? to fight against the King, under a Commission for him? to take him forcibly out of the hands of those, for whom he had conquer'd him; to draw him into his Net with Protestations, and Vows of Fidelity; and when he had caught him in it, to Butcher him with as little Shame, as Conscience, or Humanity, in the open face of the whole World? to receive a Commission for King and Parliament, to murder (as I said) the one, and destroy no less impudently the other? to fight against Monarchy, when he declared for it; and declare against it when he contrived for it, in his own Person? to abase perfidiously, and supplant ingratefully his own General first, and afterwards most of those Officers, who with the loss of their Honour, and hazard of their Souls, had lifted him up to the top of his unreasonable Ambitions? equally to violate his Faith with all his Friends, and Enemies? to make no less frequent use of the most solemn Perjuries, then the looser sort of people do of common Oaths? to usurp three Kingdoms without any shadow of the least Pretensions, and to govern

" them as unjustly as he got them? to seek to Intail his Usurpation upon his Posterity, and with it an endless War upon the Nations? to pretend, when he went upon any mischievous Consult, that he went to Seek God? and lastly, to die hardned, mad, and unrepentant, with the Curses of the present, and detestation of all future Ages.

Having thus now, Gentlemen, shew'd you the miseries of our late *Civil Wars*, as well as of the *Long Parliament's* and *Usurper's Tyranny*, together with the unsoundness of *Presbytery*, I hope it may be the more easie to dissuade you from running into the like miseries again, for we are just upon the brink of them; inasmuch as the Church of England, betwixt *Popery* on the one hand, and *Fanaticism* on the other, seems now to be in as much danger, as *Susanna* betwixt the two *Elders*, who would ravish her both of her Doctrine, (so dear to her Professors) and of her Lands, (so dear to her Priests;) or like *Flanders* betwixt *France* and *Spain*, to be the Seat of War betwixt *Popery* and *Presbytery*. As pretended Religion hath now produced these threatening Clouds, so heretofore likewise was it the chiefest occasion of those Storms which in 12 years space caused such a Revolution of the Sovereign Power, from King *Charles* the First, to the *Long Parliament*; from thence, to the *Rump*; from the *Rump*, to *Oliver Cromwell*; from *Oliver*, to *Richard*; from *Richard Cromwell*, back again to the *Rump*; thence to the *Long Parliament*; and thence to King *Charles* the Second, where God continue it many years.

Optima Libertas ubi Rex cum Lege gubernat.

The fears and jealousies of *Popery*, as well then, as now, was the Stock on which the *Ambitious*, the *Covetous*, and the *Revengeful* grafted all their *Treasonable designs*, of prosecuting their own private Interests, under the pretence of the Publick; and let any impartial Judge, but narrowly examine the Proceedings, Lives, and Principles of our hottest Anti-Courtiers, who at this time pretend most to censure the King and Government, and he shall find them, either *vain-glorious lovers of Popular Applause*, more then the *real good of their Country*; or *necessitous and beggarly persons*, of broken Fortunes, extremely in Debt, and men run out of their Estates, which they hope to repair by *Crown*, or *Church-Lands*, as was done heretofore; or men full of *Revenge* to see others preferred, and themselves neglected: And all

all these generally men of no Moral honesty, or Religion, let them pretend what they will, but Drunkards, Whoremasters, and Atheists; men of the worst Conversation themselves, who yet have the impudence to blame others for that which they themselves stand convict of. If a Magistrate shews any countenance to his Under-Officers, or Servants, they complain against his being a Slave to Favourites, never looking into their own private Family, where some Favourite Steward, Waiting-woman, or *Fidèle de Chambre* cheats him, and makes Slaves of all the rest of the Servants. If a Magistrate casts his Eye upon a handsome Woman, how do they censure his Bifeminacy, as a meer *Sardanapalus*; when the very same persons themselves do oftentimes keep Wenchies to domineer over their own virtuous Wives, spend their whole Estates upon Strumpets, and supplant their own Legitimate Children, with Bastards. The truest pattern of one of these pretended Country Patriots, I beheld (at the first breaking out of this Plot) enter into a Coffee-house in a ragged Suit, extremely drunk, and swearing most bloudily, *That he heard there was a design to introduce Popery, but damn him and sink him he would sooner part with his Life, then his Religion*: Such a main Pillar was he of some Church, though of what, 'tis difficult to know. His Majesty is most happy in his Enemies; for if rational men would but seriously consider, what a mad generation they were, few would value what they said, but justly suspect whatever Cause they espouse. Men of the same stamp were *Caroline's* Associates in his Conspiracy, for so the Historian describes them: "*Caroline* entertain'd a Rabble of

most wicked and dangerous persons, as if they had been the Guard of his own Body; for whatsoever Ruffian, Leacher, or Glutton had consumed his Estate with Gaming, Banqueting, or Whoring; whosoever was deeply engaged in Debt for redeeming some punishable Offence, besides all Particides, Church-robbers, convicted persons, and such as did bear conviction; moreover all such whose hands and tongues got them maintenance by their Perjuries, and Civil Blood-sheddings; and lastly, all those whom wickedness, want, or a guilty Conscience did exasperate, became *Caroline's* bosom Friends and Familiars. Or the same stamp (I say) are these men who sell their malice to the King, under the Reproach of his Council, well knowing that Sedition (like a screw'd Gun, that is given to mounting upwards) must be levell'd below the mark they

Salust.

Quæ mo-
nus atque
lingua
perjurio
aut Civilis
sanguine
alebat. Sa-
lust.

C

shoot

shoot at; they feed upon the Plot, like Vermin upon Carriers, and are as inanimate, and heartless during the Recess of a Parliament, as Wasps, and Hornets in the Winter time.

That His Majesty would comply with His Parliament in what may be for the good of both, ought to be the prayers of every true *English Protestant*. I am sure they are mine, but some of these perhaps desire such a fatal Compliance as was that of the *Assyrian King Nimrod*, to his Queen *Semiramis*, who granting her the Regency but for five days, she did in that short time make a shift to destroy him; or as his Royal Fathers Condescension to let the Parliament sit during their own pleasure, who never quitted their own Reign, till they had ended his; So dangerous is it for a Prince to fulfil the unsatisfied desires of a Craving Mobile; Who, being without doors, have it not in the Orb of their understandings to Comprehend or Judge aright of the proceedings of a King and Parliament. These are the Fomenters of the Common people, Who (though a moveable Body like the Ocean) yet never swell, but when blown upon by such intemperate winds; or like the Swine in the Gospel, are more furiously agitated by the discontented Spirits of others, than their own. They are like *Esope's* Trumpeter, who set people together by the ears with their Libels or false News, and therefore of all others the least deserve Quarter. And as heretofore by the names of Roundhead, and Cavalier, so now again they distinguish, and mark out for destruction His Majesty's Subjects by those Faction Epithites of Whig, and Tory; which like Rogue, Rascal, and other Opprobrious terms do rarely pass over without a bloody Nose; Like ill Servants betwixt Husband and Wife, they endeavour to breed a Jealousy and mis-understanding between King and People, hoping to advantage themselves by the quarrel, and accordingly use their utmost endeavours to mis-represent his mildest Actions to his People: As for instance, if His Majesty grants Liberty of Conscience to the *Nonconformists*, they, possess the people it is done in favour of the *Papists*; and on the contrary, if he suppresses them, then they say he is persuaded to it by the *Papish* Councils: So incapable are they of being satisfied! Again, whilst he desires to prosecute the *Papists*, they call him a favourer of them; and when he puts out his Proclamation against them, then they presently say it is Sugar-plums for the Parliament: so humourfom are these men.

men. Such Enemies are they to Monarchy, that they hate Addresses, for the same reason they love Petitions; opposition to the King. That Petitioning for a Parliament is lawful, I do not oppose; but to Petition so often for one and the same thing, and that too after his Majesty has shew'd his dislike of it, is (I am sure) uncivil, and shews as if hereby they would either publish to the World their distrust of his Majesties single Government, or else render themselves and their Party formidable to the Royal Authority, by the counterfeit number of their Petitioners. That the power of Calling and Dissolving Parliaments, is solely in the King, their very Act of Petitioning confesses; and yet if his Majesty complies not with them at a minutes warning, they presently complain of Injustice.

Again for Addresses, they are absolute Abhorers of them, as thinking it lawful to give our thanks to any one but the King; the Parliaments themselves have often expressed their gratitude and Loyalty to the King, Voting him thanks for many of his Speeches, and promising to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, against all his Enemies whatsoever: Nay the City of London, and many other Corporations, Burroughs and Counties, have done as much even to their own single Members of Parliament, Voting them their thanks, and promising to stand by them; and yet these men would deny his Majesty that small respect, which is so commonly paid to his Subjects; and which as well to Foreigners, as Natives, will make known his Majesties Interest in the hearts of his Subjects; then which, nothing can be more for the honour of the *English* Nation, to publish the Kings Grandeur, and Peoples Loyalty.

Moreover, they are highly offended with his Majesty for dissolving Parliaments, but not so much at that, as because his Majesty would shew a Reason why he dissolved them; for they would have had the People gone away with the opinion that it was an Arbitrary unjust Action, and their dissolution purely in favour of Popery, and nothing else: Whereas his Majesty in a Gracious and voluntary manner comes, and appeals to his own People how just his proceeding was in that, as in all other things; that observing the differences between the two Houses, he had reason to fear the ill consequence thereof, and therefore to allay those heats, was forced to send them home: yet was not out of love with Parliaments, but would nevertheless call them frequently, &c. Which reason being satisfactory to all

*Adiutor
Principis
sensar, &
siquid oc-
cultius pa-
rat, exqui-
rare illic-
tum est.
Tacti.*

his loving Subjects; was therefore the more disapproved of by the Faction, who, by this means, were perhaps disappointed of their intended Tumult and Insurrection, so considerably re-
 pected by Mr. Colledge.

The same Faction Party do likewise accuse his Majesty of having a design, both to render himself Absolute, and to introduce Popery; and this is the present Doctrine that they preach in all their Cabals, Libels, and Pamphlets. Now for his design of rendering himself Absolute, let any rational man but consider how improbable a thing it is, that the King (whom his very Enemies accuse of being a too great lover of his ease, even in his youth) should now when he grows into years, attempt a thing of that great trouble and hazard: At his first Restauration, might he not then have had any thing of his people? were not his Subjects at that time so tired out with the late Civil War, that he might have fettered them as he pleased himself, and has he not since had a Parliament that supplied him with Monies at his pleasure; nay, were as ready to grant, as he to ask; and did the King let go all these opportunities (do you think) to undertake it now? Surely no man of sense can harbour a thought so ridiculous, and void of Reason. Besides, his Majesty (as all men know) is of so mild and peaceable a disposition, that no person upon Earth can be more averse to such a Tyrannical and bloody undertaking, than himself: What one Act of severity or cruelty, can his greatest Enemy charge him with, throughout his Reign, nay, in his whole life-time? Alas, 'tis our too great ignorance of other Neighbouring Princes, makes us not enough esteem our own.

No English Monarch, even King James, or Queen Elizabeth her self, were ever more tender of, and careful to preserve the Rights and Privileges of the People, than King Charles the Second now is; Parliaments themselves were never handled with that love, tenderness, and caution by any Prince, as by him; whose chief and only care is, not to violate their Privileges, contrary to the proceedings of many of his Predecessors; As for instance, in the 23. year of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Paul Wentworth moved in the House for a publick Fast, and for a Sermon every morning at seven of the clock, before the House sat, and it was ordered accordingly. But the Queen being informed hereof, sent this Message to the House by her Vice-Chamberlain, *That Her Highness much admired the Rash-*

ness.

ness of the House, in committing such an apparent Contempt of her express Command, as to put in execution such an Innovation, without her privacy, or pleasure first known. Whereupon the House acknowledging their said offence and contempt, craving her pardon for the same, and promising to forbear the like for the future, Ms. Vice-Chamberlain by the Suffrage of the whole House did accordingly carry up this their Submission to the Queen.

*Also 35. Eliz. Mr. Peter Wentworth and Sir Henry Bromley delivered a Petition to the Lord Keeper, desiring the Lords of the Upper House to be Suppliants with them of the Lower House unto her Majesty, for entailing the Succession of the Crown, whereof a Bill was ready drawn. The Queen being highly displeased herewith, summoned the parties concern'd in this motion before her Council, and made the Lord Keeper Ruckhurst and Sir Thomas Heneage commit Wentworth prisoned to the Tower, and Mr. Bromley to the Fleet, together with Mr. Stephens, and one Mr. Welch, Knight for Worcestershire. Another time this Queen, the 28th of her Reign, sent a severe Reprimand to the House of Commons, for choosing and returning Knights of the Shire for Norfolk, a thing which she said was impertinent for the House to meddle withal, and belong'd only to the Office and care of her Chancellour, from whom the Writs issue, and are Return'd. Again, the House of Commons by their Speaker (39 Eliz.) complained of some Monopolies: whereupon the Lord Keeper made answer in her Majesties Name, *That her Majesty hoped her dutiful and loving Subjects, would not take away her Prerogative, which is the chiefest Flower in her Garden, the principal Pearl in her Crown and Diadem, but that they will rather leave that to her own disposal.**

In one Parliament, when Mr. Coke (afterwards Sir Edward Coke) was Speaker, the Queen sent a Messenger or Sergeant at Arms into the House of Commons, and took out Mr. Morris a Member thereof, and committed him to Prison, with divers others, for some Speeches spoken in the House. Whereupon Mr. Wroth moved the House, that they would be humble Suiters to her Majesty, that she would be pleased to enlarge those Members of the House that were restrained; which was done accordingly; And answer was sent by her Privy Council, *That her Majesty had committed them for causes best known to her*

self.

self; and to press her Highness with this Suit, would be of dangerous consequence; that the House must not call the Queen to account for what she doth of her Royal Authority; that the causes for which they are restrained, may be high and dangerous, and that her Majesty liketh no such Questions; neither that it did become the House of Commons to search into matters of that nature. And likewise (in the 39th of Eliz.) the Commons were told, that their Privileges were Yea, and No; and that her Majesties pleasure was; that if the Speaker perceived any idle heads which would not stick to hazard their own Estates, but meddle with Reforming the Church, and transforming the Commonwealth, by exhibiting Bills to that purpose, the Speaker should not receive them till they were viewed and considered by those who were fitter to consider of such things, and can judge better of them. And moreover, the Queen rejected 48 Bills, which had passed both Houses in that very Parliament: whereas I have not heard of any two publick Bills that our Gracious Sovereign ever yet refused to pass; as for the Bill of Succession, that has never yet passed both Houses. Also in the 21 of King James, a Declaration was sent from New-Market to the Parliament, wherein he asserts, That most Privileges of Parliament's grow from Precedents, which shew rather a Toleration, then an Inheritance: wherefore he could not allow of the stile they used to him, calling it their ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance; but could rather have wished they had said, their Privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his Ancestors, and himself. Thereupon he concludes, That he cannot with patience endure to hear his Subjects to use such Antimonarchical words concerning their Liberties; except they had subjoynd unto them, that they were granted them by the grace and favour of his Progenitors: Nevertheless he promiseth to be careful of whatsoever Privileges they enjoyd by long custom, and uncontrouled lawful Precedents. Neither were the Houses of Commons so full of those Heats and Animosities in former times, as they have been of late years, and in King Charles the First his Reign; but as all things were carried with lenity and Justice on the Kings side, so with great modesty and deference by the Commons. Thus in the 13th of Edward the third, a Parliament was called to consult of the Domestick quiet, and the defence of the Marches of Scotland, and the security of the Seas from Enemies: But the Commons humbly desired, not to be put to consult of things, *Quoniam eis non erat cognizance*, whereof they had no cognizance.

48 Bills
rejected in
one Session
by Q. Eliz.

In

In the 12 of the same King, the Commons being moved for their advice touching the prosecution of a War with France; after four days for Consultation by an Elegant Speech of Justice *Thorp*, they answered that their humble desire of the King, was, that he would be advised therein by the Lords; they being of more Experience then themselves in such Affairs.

In the sixth year of *Richard the second*, a Parliament was called to consult whether the King should go in person to rescue the City of *Gann*, or send an Army thither, Wherein the Commons being asked their advice, by *Sir Thomas Puckring* their Speaker, they humbly answered, that the Councils did more aptly belong to the King and his Lords. The next year the Commons are desired to advise of the Articles of peace with *France*, but they again modestly excuse themselves, as too weak to Council in so weighty matters. And being a second time press'd as they did tender the repute of their Countrey, and Right of their King, they humbly delivered their Opinions rather for Peace, then War; Nay, and touching the point we are now upon, of naming a Successor, I have seen (saith a late Author) a Manuscript which makes mention that *Henry the Eighth*, some two years before his death, Summon'd a Parliament, wherein he intimated to them, that one of his main designs of Confining that Parliament, was, that they should declare a Successor to the Crown, but the Parliament with much modesty answered; that touching that point, it belonged to His Majesty to consider of it, And consult with his Learned Privy-Council about it. And whomsoever his Majesty would be pleas'd to nominate in his last Will, they would Conform and Ratifie; Whereupon old King *Henry* made a formal Will, which was afterwards enrolled in Chancery, &c. for such was the Moderation, and Modesty of the House of Commons in former times, that they declined the Agitation and Cognizance of High State Affairs, humbly transferring them to their Sovereign, and his Privy-Council; a Parliament man then thought it to be the Adequate object of his Duty, to study the welfare, complain of grievances, and have the defect supplyed of that place for the which he served; Thus the Burgees of *Laun*, studied to find out something that might have advanced the Trade of Fishing. He of *Norwich*, that might profit the making of Stuff. He of *Eye* what might preserve their Harbour from being choaked up with heaves of Sand; He of *Tiverdon*, to further the Manu-
facture.

*failure of Kestons; He of Suffolk, what produced to the benefit of Cloathings; and the Members of Cornwall, what belonged to their Stanneries; and so the Respective Members of their several Counties; and in doing this, they thought to have complied and discharged the trusts reposed in them, without roving at Universals; prying into *Archiepiscopall* *Imperii*, and bringing Religion to the Bar; the one (as they thought) belonging more properly to the Chief Magistrate and his Council of State; as the other to the Bishops, and Clergy. Let me not here be misconstrued, or censured to justify his Majesty, by Reflecting on the privileges of the Commons: for as I would not have the King lose the least Title of his Prerogative, so neither would I have the Commons one hairs breadth of their privileges; nor do I go to prescribe the late Houses by the Footsteps of their Predecessors, since by the Concession, or Connivance of late Princes, 'tis possible their privileges may be increased; no, my only design is, partly to satisfy the World that no King of *England* ever dealt more Candidly with a Parliament then our present Sovereign, no not Queen *Elizabeth* her self, who is so much the peoples Darling; and partly, by the Loyal Moderate example of former Houses, to prevent any heats for the future. Neither for such a factious age as this is, can any Loyal Subject discharge his Duty both to King and Countrey, without endeavouring (as much as in him lies) to silence those mutineers; who having first endeavoured to exasperate the Houses one against another, and both against the Kingdome, afterwards in the Lobby lye waiting the event of each warm debate with the same Repacious hope, as heretofore did, Birds of Prey upon a *Roman* Army, when the Signal to Battell was given; for the enflaming the two Houses one against another, they make use of the Rights and privileges of Conferences, asserting it the undoubted Rights of the Commons, (as in *Fixe Harris's* Case they did at *Oxford*) to confer with the Lords when they please, without any denial; Which whether it be so or no, I shall not presume to determine, any farther then to acquaint you with a Remarkable passage that occurred in the Reign of *Henry* the fourth; When the House of Commons Petition'd the King that they might have advice and Communication with certain Lords about matters of business in Parliament for the Common good of the Kingdom, which Prayer (as the Record*

cord hath it) our Lord the King most graciously granted; but with this Protestation, *That he did it not of Duty; nor of Customs; but of his special Grace and Favour.* So our Lord the King charged the Clerk of Parliament; that this Protest should be entered upon Record in the Parliament Roll. This the King made known to them by the Lord Say; and his Secretary, who told them, *That our Lord the King neither of Duty; nor Customs; ought to grant any Lords to enter into Communication with him of matters touching the Parliament; but by his special Grace at this time he granted their request in this particular.* And the said Steward and Secretary brought the King word back from the Commons; *That they well knew they could not have any such Lords to communicate with them about any business of Parliament, without special Grace and Command from the King himself.* In like manner we read in *Appian*; (*de Bell. Civ. lib. 1.*) That the creation of the Tribune Office was design'd only to ballance the power of the Consuls, whose Election then depended only on the Senate, and to keep them from exercising the whole Authority in the Administration of their Republick; but yet th is bred much emulation; and many quarrels amongst these Magistrates, the one seeing themselves supported by the countenance of the Senate, and the other by the favour of the People; and each party thought themselves robbed of that which was added to the other.

Now as about these and the like Privileges, they endeavour to set the two Houses in an opposition; lest otherwise they might comply with his Majesty in so far as their principal end were it in their power, which God Almighty prevent) to divide both Lords and Commons against the King; and for this purpose invent all the Calumnies imaginable; where withall to assuage him. Thus first, they would have his Subjects believe, that the removing of the Parliament to Oxford, was an insolent and to be paralleld; whereas he should know any thing, had not be ignorant how often Parliaments have formerly been summoned to meet as well at York; Oxford; and very many other places, as at Westminster; and that not out of any cause of sickness or the like, but merely out of the Kings will and pleasure with hath power by his Writs to assign their meeting where he pleaseth. Nay, so hellish was the malice of some of the Commonwealths men, that (as *Colledge* himself confesseth) they would have made the Members believe his Majesty

brought them thither to be Murdered, a report so incredible and so barbarous, that as the wise man laughs at it, so every Loyal Subject abhors it. That a Prince whose greatest error, is his Clemency, should draw upon himself the guilt of a whole Nations blood; But now as that appears a malicious story, and is already confuted by its not happening, so let us esteem of their Reports for the future.

Secondly, these disaffected persons (who are all descended from the right *Forty one* breed) endeavouring to erect another perpetual Parliament, insinuate into the Peoples ears, how unnatural it is for the Government to go hopping upon one Leg; whereby they mean the King; as also that he ought to summon a Parliament, whenever two or three of the *Household of Enich* desire him, and then never dissolve them so long as any grievances are depending; when (if so) they shall never be without some grievance or other to perpetuate their sitting, how small soever; and for this very reason, (although no man is a greater lover of Parliaments then my self) that expedient seem'd to me of dangerous consequence, which (to fetter the Duke of York) enabled the Parliament then in being, to convene and sit six months after this Kings death; since, if they had not power to act as a Parliament, they could do us no good, and if they had, then by virtue of the same power wherewith they pass'd other Acts, they might also pass an Act to perpetuate themselves; for frequent, and not long Parliaments, must render this Nation prosperous; old Members being too apt to hunt soul, after they have run many Chaces.

Thirdly and lastly, these Malecontents encourage the most heinous Criminals, and those who have more personally and particularly offended his Majesty, to Petition the House of Commons, thereby thinking either to force the King, as it were, against his own inclinations, to release such his Enemies, or else to put him upon a necessity of disabling the House by his denial; and so on the contrary, they (too often) excite them to Address themselves to his Majesty, for the Removal of such Ministers who are chiefly in his favour; as if it were a thing of that small concern to a Prince, to sacrifice his most intimate Friends, to whom he hath unbosomed his most secret Councils, and who perhaps is so charged only, for executing his Masters Precepts. Alas! let every man but make it his own Case, and see how uneasy he should be to part with, or give credit to any evil

*Non est
gram-est
mare quem
spera cast
rosque qui
bus de cau
sa extollat.
Nisi sum
mum re
rum Judi
cium Dii
dedere: in
his obsequi
gloria re
di est.
Tacit.*

evil report against an old Friend, Relation or Servant, without some convincing undeniable proof made out against him: Not but that such Addresseees may be lawful, and many times expedient; also Ministers of State, too often faulty. Nevertheless, such Votes and Petitions ought not to be rashly undertaken, but first duly weigh'd and considered, with the grounds, and evidences against them; and this more especially now, since his Majesty hath been pleased to declare, as he will not govern Arbitrarily himself, so neither shall his Subjects one towards another. Which puts me in mind of the story of the two Roman Embassadors, *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who being sent by the *Decem-viri* to the People, to enquire of their grievances, the People amongst other things complained of the Tyranny of the *Decem-viri*, desiring to have them deliver'd up into their hands, that they might burn them alive: But the Embassadors not consenting to their demand, replied, *Cruelitatem damnatis, in-cruelitatem mittis*; you condemn Cruelty, and practise it your selves.

I do not find that the House of Commons was ever Petition'd till about the middle of *Henry* the seventh's Reign, which Petition is inserted among the Statutes: But though the Petition be directed to the House of Commons in its Title, yet the Prayer of the Petition is turn'd to the King, and not to the Commons. The Petition begins thus; *To the Right worshipful Commons in this present Parliament assembled; Shews to your discreet wisdoms, the Wardens of the Fellowship of the Craft of Upholsterers within London, &c.* But the conclusion is, *Therefore may it please the Kings Highness, by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and his Commons in Parliament, &c.*

Again, I find many Examples to prove that though the cognizance and debating of great State-affairs, belong to the High Court of Parliament, yet heretofore the Lords have oftentimes transmitted such business to the Kings Privy-Council; amongst others let this suffice: When one *Mortimer*, who stiled himself *Captain Mendall*, (otherwise called *Jack Cade*) came with a Rabble of the Vulgar, with a Petition to the Lower House, the Commons sent it up to the Lords, and the Lords transmitted it to the Kings Privy-Council to consider of. But to conclude this point, the difference between King and Parliament is, that the one represents *God*, the other the *People*; the Consultative power by the Kings permission is in Parliament, but the Com-

manding power remains inseparable in him; the results and productions of Parliaments, at best are but Bills, 'tis the Kings breath makes them Laws; which are till then but dead things, they are like Marches unfired, 'tis the King that gives them Life, and Light: The Lords advise, the Commons consent, but the King ordains; they mould the Bills, but the King makes them Laws.

Having thus now sufficiently vindicated our most Royal Sovereign, against all the malicious aspersions of his Enemies, who would falsely and treacherously charge the best-natur'd Prince under Heaven, with having a design to introduce an Arbitrary Government here amongst us; give me leave in the next place to speak to their no less Devilish, and wicked Reproach of his being a *Papist*, which these Traytors cast upon him in Revenge, to alienate (were such a thing possible) the hearts and affections of his Loyal Subjects, from that Duty and Allegiance they owe to him. They first pretended his Majesty to be in a Plot against his own Life, and now because that seems too ridiculous, they give out, that whereas there were two parts of the *Papish Plot*, the one to introduce *Papery*, the other to kill the King, his Majesty was made acquainted only with the former part of it, (*viz.*) the introducing of *Papery*, and not with his own death. But here let any Rational man consider, for what end they should design to take off the King, unless it were that he would not aid and assist them in bringing in the *Papish Religion* into this Kingdom; for if he were (as these men say) privy and assisting to their Plot of subverting the Government, for what purpose should they then conspire against his Person? we must therefore either suspend our belief of the one, or the other at least.

Secondly, in favour to the *Papish* Party they would make the world believe, that in an unnatural manner, his Majesty should for his Royal Brothers sake, consent to the destruction of his own natural Son the D. of *M.* and accordingly possess his Grace with an opinion, that he was sent into *Flanders* on purpose to be destroyed, hoping by this means to set the Son against his Father, and render him like that worst of Men, *Pharao*, who together with fifty of his Bastard Brethren plotted against the life of his most indulgent Father *Moses*, that good King of *Egypt*, in which Conspiracy (as the *Hebrew* says) it was prodigious, that in so great a Number,

Parricide could not only be contracted, but concealed; and
 "that amongst Fifty of his Children, there was not one found,
 "whom neither the Majesty of a King, nor the reverence of
 "an Ancient man, nor the Indulgency of so good a Father,
 "could recall from so horrible an Act. *Justin lib. 10.* We read
 how *Themistocles* used to say, That such men as He resembled
Oaks, to whom men come for shelter, when they have need of
 them in Rain, and desire to be protected by their Boughs; But
 when it is fair, they come to them to strip and peel them.
Ælian lib. 9. ch. 18. In the same manner do the Brotherhood
 by the D. of M. make all their present Applications to him, as
 thinking him a fit Pole to support those helpless Hops, and the
 only person of whom for Quality and Courage they may make
 use as a General against a *Popish Successor*; they make him the
 Claw to take the Cheshire out of the Fire, which being done
 they will as ignominiously cashier him, their design being un-
 doubtedly to erect a *Geneva Republick*, and no other: Nay,
 did they yet intend a Monarchy, their malice would after such
 a Rebellion reject him, even for his *Royal Fathers* sake. There-
 fore, as his Grace must draw his Virtue from His Blood, so I
 doubt not but ere long to hear, the fatted Calf is kill'd, espe-
 cially since he is blessed with so merciful a King, and so indul-
 gent a Father.

But thirdly, Another Argument which they urge to prove
 the King a favourer of *Popery*, is, his being unwilling to dis-
 inherit his only Brother, and (if his Majesty die before him
 without Issue) his next lawful Successor. On this subject out
 of *Daleman's* Succession of the Crown, (though a *Popish Book*)
 they steal many *Protestant Arguments*, which (to be thought
 Learned men,) they vent for their own; as indeed upon all
 other subjects, their Speeches are nothing but fragments out of
 old *Parliament Pamphlets*, collected, pack'd together, and ven-
 ted for their own. *Ephemeris Parliamentaria* is a Book of main
 use to them for this purpose. But to return to our subject:
 Now let any man make this his own Case, and consider, whe-
 ther he should not think it a hard put upon him, to be forced
 to disinherit his own Son, (the objection lying as well against
 a Son, as a Brother) only for his changing his Religion, and
 that too as well for turning *Presbyterian, Anabaptist, or Quaker*,
 as for turning *Papist*, they being all *Recusants*, and equally
 offenders against the established Law and Government of this
 Land.

Land, witness the 35 of *Eliz.* Nay to Sacrifice, and deliver up a Brother, who hath so often exposed his Life amongst crouds of Bullets, and to the raging of the boisterous Seas, for the Security and Honour both of King and Kingdom; a Brother who was an equal sharer with him in all his late Afflictions, as well in the loss of a Father, as in other sad effects of the late dreadful Rebellion, this must be no small violence to his Nature; especially since it was never yet made appear, that his R. H. was in the least privy to any *Plot*, or *Conspiracy* against the Person of his Sacred Majesty; nay, by Dr. *Oates* his confession it appears, that these bloody-minded *Papists* had as well designed to take away the Duke's Life, as the King's, had they not found him fitting for their turn; which shews that they were never assured of his Highnesses joyning with them, but rather that he was altogether ignorant of their Intrigues, which made them question his adherence: since it may be very possible for a younger Brothers Servant, to conspire the death of his Masters elder Brother, in hopes to better his Service, without ever acquainting his Master with the design. Which things considered, it seems to me very unreasonable to censure his Majesty for his unwillingness to dis-inherit his Brother, purely upon a surmise, and no proof; also to argue from the ill consequence that must attend the Dominion of a *Papist Successor*, were to disown that Precept of Christianity, which forbids us *to do evil that good may come of it*. Nevertheless, as the House of Commons voted, I cannot but acknowledge, that the unfortunate perversion of his Royal Highness, may have been a great encouragement of that Party to hope once more to establish their Superstitious Worship amongst us, and for that purpose they may, (contrary to his Highnesses knowledge,) enter into Plots and Conspiracies, to divide and set us altogether by the Ears; when in the mean time, like the Kite in the Fable, they would come and seize upon us both; for the *Convent* and *Jesuits* maintaining throughout the World a Traffick of *Sedition* and *privy Conspiracy*, have yet had so much wit, as to Land it in *Presbyterian Bottoms*, (fit Vessels for Rebellion) and to cover their disobedience to Governours, under the Attempts of the *Anabaptists*, who naturally acknowledge none; so that to ruine this *Papist Fabrick*, we must extirpate this *Fanatick Foundation*. Therefore I could heartily wish, and I do believe that most moderate men are now of the same opinion, that

that if the Parliament had embraced his Majesties gracious offers of hampering and fettering a *Popish Successor*, by Laws, so as to render him (as much as was possible) incapable of Altering the Government either in Church or State, and that by some Parliamentary expedient they had taken away his Sting; since now by refusing to accept any thing, because we cannot have every thing, we expose our selves both at home and abroad to danger, we miss the opportunity of making other good Laws both against *Papery* and a *Popish Successor*, who might have come upon us in this Interim, when we had no Law to oppose Him, and his Majesty (whom we daily think in so much danger) done otherwise then well; also for fear of this uncertain danger of a *Popish Successor*, (whom with Gods blessing his Majesty may survive) we expose not only our selves, but also all *Holland, Flanders*, and all the Protestants of Christendom to the merciless rage and fury of the *French King*. Whereas did we agree amongst our selves, and assist His Majesty in his Alliance with other Protestant Princes, and States, we might happily prevent the effusion of that Protestant Blood which will otherways be shed, as the *Dutch Memorial* complains.

Nec quier-
gentium si-
ne armis,
nec arma
sine stipen-
dio, nec sti-
pendia si-
ne Tributis
haberi que-
unt. Ta. in.

Moreover, excepting this Bill of Succession, which never came to his hands, what other Security for the Protestant Religion has His Majesty ever denied the Parliament; has he not offered to pass any expedient that could be proposed, has he not put out what ever Proclamations they desired, either to banish the *Papists* so many miles, or to encourage more Witnesses to come in, with promises of Rewards, and pardon! In Fine, what has he left undone that might tend to promote further Discovery, to extirpate *Papery*, and to secure the Protestant Religion? Now as to the truth of the *Popish Plot* in general, to subvert the Government both in Church and State, introducing the *Roman Catholick* Religion into this Kingdom, &c. is a thing beyond all possibility of doubt, and hath already been so declared by King and Parliaments, Nay the several Circumstances belonging to it (which I value more then the Credit of the Witnesses,) makes it as visible as the Sun at noon-day; and besides the interest of the Jesuits (who are certainly the wickedest of all sorts of men) 'tis natural for all persons to covet to bring over Converts to their own Opinions, in Civil matters, vain-glory; And in spirituals, the

Reward

Shank Colbrn
Story for that

Reward for doing an Act of Charity prompts them to it, for if either *Papist*, or *Sectary* believe their Faith to be the only saving Faith, how then (say they) can we love our Neighbours as our selves, unless we endeavour to draw them over to our own persuasion, wherein we think men can only be Saved? And this I make no question has been one main reason (together with their promise of Salvation to the Converter) that allured many of the most vertuous sort of *Papists* into this Conspiracy of introducing *Papery* amongst us; Another reason which may have prompted their Clergy, and the most dissolute sort of *Papists*, to this undertaking, was perhaps, the vast Rich Abbies, and Revenues which did heretofore belong to the Church of *Rome*; and the which they cannot but with envy now behold in the possession of their Enemies; neither would they give themselves the least trouble for our Conversion, were it not more for our Estates sake then for our Souls good; Wherefore as their Interest why there should be a *Plot*, is one argument to me there is one; So the *Plot* is likewise another argument to me, that they have a design upon Church-Lands; for which reason I could almost wish that all the Abbies in England had been demolished and Levelled with the ground at the time of the Reformation, since the best way to destroy *Priests*, as well as Crows, is to pluck down both their Nests. Now these things considered, do fully satisfy me of the *Papists Plot*, and design to introduce *Papery*, and with that Arbitrary Government, whereby alone they inspect to be re-instated in the possession of their Church-Revenues. And with the same do I also believe that the head of this *Papish Plot* hath brought to life, the Dissenting Serpents, whose design now is, to sting the Protestants upon the *Papists* backs.

There is a Machiavelian Plot. *One* *movement* *of* *many* *Things* *have* *been* *set* *on* *foot*, *and* *all* *of* *them* *are* *designed* *to* *bring* *about* *the* *same* *end*.
By setting Brother against Brother;
To Claw, and carry one another,
Till Plain enough to him that knows,
How Saints lead Brothers by the Nose to the Hurdle.

Nevertheless now, although I believe the *Papish Plot* in general, yet can I not but suspend my Credit of many particular Circumstances given in Evidence concerning the Kings death.

as the manner of *Groves*, and *Pickerings* going to shoot the King with silver Bullets, is to me a pill of Faith that I can hardly swallow; which very thing makes many incredulous persons raise this scruple, whether some men perceiving the designs of the *Papists* to introduce *Popery* (which part of the *Plot* is undeniable even by their own party) did not (to represent it more formidable to the common people) forge this additional *Plot* of murdering the King, the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Shafisbury*, Earl of *Offery*, and other great Darlings of the people, (who God be praised have none of them been yet assaulted;) that joyning both *Plots* together, the vulgar people might be the more exasperated, and so by preventing the one, help to keep out the other; but whether this be the truth of it or no, I do not positively affirm, only this I know, that since *Colledges* Tryal, neither I, nor I presume any one else, can have that esteem for the *Popish* Witnesses as before, where if you believe *Dugdale*, *Turbervil*, and *Smith*, what must you think of *Ones's* Evidence, which has help'd towards the hanging so many? and if you credit the Doctor, what will your opinion be of *Dugdale*, *Turbervil* and *Smiths* Evidences, which have cost my Lord *Stafford* and so many others their Lives? 'Tis a mystery which nothing but the Gallows can expound, therefore let him that best deserves it have it, only this I can say in behalf of the King's Evidence against *Colledge*, that I my self have bought two yards of *Popery* and *Slavery* Ribbon of him at *Shors's* Coffee-house in *Oxford*, where I also heard him speak things (though not Treasonable, yet) scandalously reflecting on the whole Royal Family; also one of those *Treasonable Pictures* which he deny'd ever to have dispersed, is now to be seen at a *Smiths* House at *Fretwel* in *Oxfordshire*, the which *Colledge* gave him with his own hands, as others of his Neighbours can testify. Nay, Mr. Sheriff of *Oxon*, and other Gentlemen, can testify, that the day before his death he acknowledged to them many things whereof he was convicted at his Tryal, the which he again denied at the time of his Execution; how then the *London Jury* could think him so Innocent as not to deserve to be brought upon his Tryal, is a Riddle, which all men wonder they have not yet expounded, by some Vindication of themselves to the world; unless it be as the ingenious *Hudibras* says:

Delatoris,
genui homi-
num publico
exitiore-
pertum, &
penis qui-
dem nun-
quam satis
coarctum,
p. r. p. m. is
elici ban-
tur. Tacit.

*That Witnesses like Watches go,
 Just as they're set, too fast or slow;
 And where in Conscience they're strait-lac'd,
 'Tis sent to one that side is cast.
 Is not the winding up the Witness,
 And nicking, more than half the business?
 Do not your Juries give the Verdict
 As if they felt the Cause, nor heard it;
 And as they please make matter of Fact
 Run all on one side, as they're pack'd?
 Nature has made man's Breast no windows,
 To publish what he does within doors,
 Nor what dark secrets there inhabit,
 Unless his own rash folly blab it.*

This *Grand-Ignoramus-Jury* did undoubtedly cost the Prisoner his life; for had they brought in *Billa vera*, then a pack'd *Petty-Jury* might afterwards have acquitted him in *Middlesex*, and prevented his *Oxford-Tryal*, which was a great over-sight of the Brotherhood; as also was Dr. *Oates's* appearing so violently against the rest of his Brother-witnesses, whereby he has cast no small blur upon the *Plot* in general. But *two of a Trade can never agree*.

Now, to conclude this subject, give me leave only to acquaint you what more favour Mr. *Colledge* had shewn him than Mr. *Staley*, who being buried pompously, was for that Treason afterwards taken out of his Grave by Command, and his Quarters erected upon the several City-Gates; whereas Mr. *Colledge*, though no less decently interred, was nevertheless permitted to remain undisturbed: so much more merciful to him was our good King, whom he had offended, than those *Barbarous Oxonians*, whom he had never injured, and who yet shouted at his Condemnation.

And now, Gentlemen, having plainly shew'd and demonstrated the miseries of the late *Civil War*, and our danger of running into the same again; having without flattery represented to you the Justice and Clemency of our present King, as also the moderation of former *Parliaments*; and having most impartially characterized the endeavours of the *Factions*, and Tyranny of a *Commonwealth*, my earnest prayers and entreaty now is, that you

you would not too easily credit those idle reports and jealousies concerning the King and Government ; which are raised only to deceive you ; that, as well in your *Judgment* as *Obedience*, you would follow the Supreme Authority of the Nation ; esteeming the King's Glory your Honour, and His Grandeur your Security : Men of heat are men of Faction,, therefore avoid all such Zealots, of any kind ; and when His Majesty shall summon your Picture again to sit in the Parliament-house, be sure it be drawn by a good Hand : The Government by King, Lords and Commons is the best of all others, therefore endeavour to support it, by following every man his own Vocation, resigning State-affairs to the Conduct of King and Parliament, to whom they more properly belong ; As for my self, I was ever before of a different opinion, and blush not to own that my Principles are changed, since 'tis not out of any *Preserment*, Interest or expectation at Court, (which as I never wanted, so I never sought after) but purely upon the merits of the Cause. I now perceive so much Faction and Knavery among the *Whig-Party*, and so much uncertainty among the Witnesses, that he who wishes well to King *Charles* and old *England*, must equally abhor both *Whigs* and *Tories*, that is, both Enemies to King, and Enemies to Parliaments.

Again, Gentlemen, as well our Interest as Duty obliges us to promote Peace ; and though we should (as we have no reason to do) apprehend our selves to be under some small grievance, yet let us esteem it as a Scab, that oftentimes breaks out in the most wholesom constituted Bodies of States, and may with less smart be continued on, then picked off. If hopes of raising a Fortune be any motive to engage you to a Party, remember first, that the sole power of rewarding Virtue, and punishing Vice, is in the Kings Breast ; all Employments both of Honour and Profit, solely at his Majesties disposal : and Secondly, remember that the Die of War seldom turns to their advantage that first cast it : Thus *Oliver*, who was not known or heard of at the beginning of the late War, nevertheless went away with the Prize. Therefore (saith a late Author) 'tis good to have patience, and see the Tree sufficiently shaken, before you run and scramble for the Fruit, lest instead of Profit or Honour, you meet with a Cudgel or Stone ; and then too, see that you fall in rather by Compulsion, then Design. The example of *Brutus*, rather than *Cato*, is to be followed in bad times ; it

being safer to be patient, then active; or appear a Fool, then a Malecontent. Should you ever live to be reduced under the extremity of a Tyrants Reign, and he should exact an acknowledgment of Obedience from you, I see not how either in Conscience or Interest you could refuse him, it being the highest frenzy imaginable to dispute your Innocency with those able to convert the greatest into a fault; no Plea is sufficient to bar the Lyon of his Right. Also if it be no dishonour to submit to a stronger Party, (though of Thieves) when fallen into their hands, then let not the example of a few Fools, who (like Lice) thrive no where so well as in a Prison, tempt you to oppose your felicity against the Imperative power, under which the disposure of your person doth wholly remain, and therefore madness to deny it words. It is most dangerous to be the Pen or Mouth of a multitude congregated by the jingling of their Fetters, lest a Pardon or Compliance knock them off, and all the Reckoning left for you to pay; when if you expect relief from the Common people, you will then too late find the wise *Florentine's* words true, *That he who builds upon the People, builds upon dirt*; since the zeal of the Rabble is not so soon heated by the real oppressions of their Rulers, but may be as easily cooled by the specious promises and breath of Authority. *Massianello* adored by the Mob one day, is torn in pieces by the same the next; therefore Nurse not Ambition with your own Blood; nor Sacrifice a Gallant Person for the Applauses of an ungrateful, unthinking Croud, which Fame (like *Venus*) is formed only out of the foam of the People. Neither are any grown'd more in this Warlike Mill of Vicissitudes, then such obstinate Fools, who glory in the repute of State-Martyrs after they are dead; which concerns them no more, then what was said an hundred years before they were born; it being the greatest odds their Names will not be Registred, or if they be, after death they are no more sensible of Honour, then any dead Animal whatsoever. Most persons have enough to do about their own private concerns of Family and Estate, therefore what greater folly can there be, then to send to Market for troubles, as those do that vex themselves about State-affairs, Foreign Wars, and the like?

Finally, Now as both from Duty and Interest I have used the best of my endeavour to persuade Obedience and Loyalty to King and Government, and Unity and Peace amongst one another;

another; so let me conclude with this dissuasive from any contrary attempts, by shewing you the happy difference betwixt our present condition, and that of 41. First, God be thanked our Enemies want such a Factious Parliament, with malice and cunning to invent mischief. Secondly, (God be praised for it) they want such a perpetual Parliament, with power to countenance and support all Factious designs, without fear of being dissolved. Thirdly, That Providence which I trust will defend both King and Kingdom, hath denied them at present such a Popular General, and Officers to carry on the Sedition for them in the Field, without which their Treason must soon fall to the ground; for a Multitude without a Head, is altogether unserviceable, as appear'd upon the Accident of *Virginius*; When the People having taken Arms, and retired to the Holy Mount, the Senate sent to them to know upon what account they had abandoned their Officers, and betaken themselves to that Mount: But the Authority of the Senate was so venerable among the People, that having no Head among them, there was no body durst return Answer. *Titus Livius* tells us, *Non desuit quid responderetur, deerat qui responsum daret*; They wanted not what to say, but who to deliver it: For having no certain Commander, every private person was unwilling to expose himself to their displeasure: whereby we may understand, how useless a thing is a Multitude without a Head. Fourthly, and Lastly, *Astrea* (since his Majesties happy Restauration) hath descended and fixed the Militia upon its right Owner, which Militia (under pretence of belonging to the People) was before made use of against the King. Now all these Considerations, together with the never-to-be-forgotten smart of the late Civil War, may I hope conduce to that everlasting Peace and Union of King and Kingdom, which is so continually and earnestly implored of Almighty God, by

(Gentlemen)

Your humble Moderator and Servant,

PHILANGLUS.